/88 cont./
621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
592 621 622 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily gather about him several other families, either in individual houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 571 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 578 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings [123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 162 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'), Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

[1] [see pp. 115 and 822, Category 11b - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 122e Category 11b - Analyst]

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 [131] The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar, of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they 648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend 643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo [178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region 171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general 178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living 621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

592 621 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 622 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called to'-esa', but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the [621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its to'-esa', and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most [578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the to'-esa' is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as [183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 643 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no authority beyond the very local one of their respective to'-esa'. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal 643 group superior to the local autonomy of the to'-esa'. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point [191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a to'-esa' over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

142
291
302
342
592
597
622
756

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

228b

Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-esa'.

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

● 592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to)-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[221] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

142
291
302
S92
622
P5Y
113

5:Simpson, N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

Fig. 88 — Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).